UNITY

FREEDOM FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918)

Editors

John Haynes Holmes Francis Neilson

The Church of the Future: A Vision

By FRANK C. DOAN

Away with the Treaties

By P. M. MATTHÉEFF

The Outlawry of War

A Questionnaire and Answers

By S. O. LEVINSON

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOL. XCI THURSDAY, MAY 31, 1923 NUMBER 14

"In regard to the public enemies whom he (John Milton) assailed, we mean the despots in church and state, and the corrupt institutions which had stirred up a civil war, the general strain of his writings, though strong and stern, must exalt him, notwithstanding his occasional violence, among the friends of civil and religious liberty. That liberty was in peril. Great evils were struggling for perpetuity and could only be broken down by great power. Milton felt that interests of infinite moment were at stake, and who will blame him for binding himself to them with the whole energy of his great mind, and for defending them with fervor and vehemence? We must not mistake Christian benevolence, as if it had but one voice, that of soft entreaty. It can speak in piercing and awful tones. There is constantly going on in our world a conflict between good and evil. The cause of human nature has always to wrestle with foes. All improvement is a victory won by struggles. It is especially true of those great periods which have been distinguished by revolutions in government and religion, and from which we date the most rapid movements of the human mind, that they have been signalized by conflict. . . . At such periods, men gifted with great power of thought and loftiness of sentiment, are especially summoned to the conflict with evil. They hear, as it were, in their own magnanimity and generous aspirations, the voice of a divinity; and thus commissioned, and burning with a passionate devotion to truth and freedom, they must and will speak with an indignant energy, . . . Men of natural softness and timidity, of a sincere but effeminate virtue, will be apt to look on these bolder, hardier spirits as violent, perturbed, and uncharitable; and the charge will not be wholly groundless. But that deep feeling of evils which is necessary to effectual conflict with them, . . . cannot breathe itself in soft and tender accents. The deeply moved soul will speak strongly and ought to speak so as to move and shake nations."

—*William Ellery Channing.*

Again we announce an addition to the list of UNITY'S "Foreign Representatives." This time it is a distinguished citizen of Italy, Count Guglielmo Lucidi, editor of *Rassegna Internazionale,* a famous European review published simultaneously in Rome, Paris and Geneva. Count Lucidi is a devoted internationalist, pacifist by temperament and conviction, friend of Romain Rolland and Stefan Zweig, who have already honored us by joining our staff. In these excessively trying days in Europe, more especially in his own country where forces of violence and reaction are for the moment in full control, Lucidi is holding high the standards of idealism. We extend to him our fraternal sympathy and goodwill, and welcome him to our fellowship here in America. We hope soon to publish an article from his pen.

May 15th was the date set by Premier Poincaré for the collapse of Germany under the pressure of French occupation of the Ruhr. May 15th has now come and gone—and the situation remains unchanged. Unchanged, that is, as regards the relation between Germany and France! The latter country still holds great masses of troops in the Ruhr area, and gets nothing in return for all her vast trouble and expense. The former country still continues her policy of passive resistance, to the astonishment and admiration of the world. All of Poincaré's hopes and expectations have been defeated, and still he presses on—to what? Why, obviously to the ruin of France, Germany, and all of Europe! It is from this point of view that the situation is changing all the time while it seems so persistently not to change. Steadily, day after day, under the influence of a policy of utter madness, the European continent slips down into the pit. Steadily, day by day, the fate that overtook Russia in 1917, now draws near to the nations west of Russia. How the disaster will come—whether by a sudden collapse into chaos, with mad struggles between reactionaries and revolutionaries, or by a gradual but always accelerating process of social disintegration—no man can say. But in either case, the disaster is approaching; and its terms, as usual, will be starvation, pestilence, and death. Meanwhile, Mussolini practices his castor-oil cure on his weakling countrymen, Curzon amuses himself with threats against Russia, and Harding prepares for his "junket" to Alaska! As for the rest of us here in America, we talk hotly about entering a Court which, if it be good for anything, ought to be good for something in the present crisis; and discuss a League of Nations which may soon have no nations to make it a league.

There seems to be a quiet reaction going on all over the country against the direct primary system. In many cases it undoubtedly involves large expense in running for office. It frequently results in nomination of candidates who are objectionable not only to party leaders but also to many solid and substantial citizens. We do not by any means fail to recognize

that the direct primary has not solved all the political ills to which man is heir, and that it also has brought with it many new problems which we did not have before. But on the other hand when we remember the secret caucus, the upper room in the best hotel, the unholy trading of votes, the control of conventions by special interests, we are in no wise willing to be stampeded into a return to the convention system. There are difficulties connected with the direct primary. But we had better hold on to it with the grip of death until we are sure we have something better to put in its place. In every legislature, this winter, some sort of insidious attack has been made on the primary. So far these attacks have for the most part failed. But they continue to be made and it is well for the watchers on the towers of democracy to keep their eyes open wide. What we need is not to ditch the direct primary, which on the whole has worked very well and has been the means of placing candidates in the field who really stood for something, but to improve it. In principle it places the responsibility for nominations directly where it belongs. What we need is more responsibility, not less! If the short ballot will place that responsibility more directly upon the voter, then let us abandon the blanket ballot and elect men for important offices only, placing at the same time in their hands the responsibility for the appointment of men to purely clerical offices like those of state treasurer and auditor. If we extend the primary to the nominations of candidates for the office of president, we may perhaps get candidates who will stand on platforms on which they will act after they get into office.

Will man's inhumanity to little children never cease? Monstrous and cruel as is the dwarfing of little bodies and the shriveling of little souls at the altar of the God of Industry, the wicked and shameless incarceration of the innocents in orphan asylums and miscalled homes is worse. What crime have these little ones committed that they should be sentenced, with no right of appeal, to that destroyer of all that is holy and noble in life,—an "institution"? It is true that some escape the awful blight of an environment robbed of all that a normal home means to a child. But the record of the great mass is one of lowered mentality and inefficiency. This was recognized by the great conference of workers for children which was called together years ago by President Roosevelt. The conference declared that every normal child was entitled to a normal home. And yet we go on building huge institutions for the imprisonment of little children! It is true we make them as beautiful as possible. We gild the cage to the last degree. In marble halls we break the hearts and warp the souls of the inmates. Just now one of the great fraternal orders is proposing to spend millions on one of these child-destroying institutions. It will be a matter of glowing satisfaction to the members. They will swell with pride as they contemplate the victims of their kindly care. And the strange thing about it all is, that a little investigation would show these kindly folk that the same children might be given real homes, in which they would have all the opportunities of normal childhood in public school, Sunday school, church, and natural relations that would really fit them for life, *at much less cost* than in their institution! Only the little folks would not be on exhibition. The founders could not point with pride to a huge mass of brick and stone.

Here comes another list of "the ten greatest" to fascinate us! This time it is a list of the ten greatest or best books written since 1900. Ten contributors publish their selections in the *International Book Review,* and the results, as usual, are remarkable. The fact that surprises us the most is that there is so little agreement among such competent literary students as Hilaire Belloc, Henry Seidel Canby, Van Wyck Brooks, Christopher Morley, William Lyon Phelps, Maurice Francis Egan, Carl Van Vechten, John Erskine, Richard Le Gallienne, and Gertrude Atherton. One book is mentioned four times—Hardy's "The Dynasts" (but imagine any person laying claim to literary authority, *not* naming this work for what it is—the greatest poem in the English tongue since "Paradise Lost"!). Joseph Conrad is named three times, but each time by a different book. Rolland's "Jean Christophe" is mentioned twice, as are the plays of John M. Synge, and the "Spoon River Anthology" of Edgar Lee Masters. Nine books enlist two supporters; these are "Hail and Farewell," by George Moore; "Eminent Victorians," by Lytton Strachey; "Pelle the Conqueror," by Nexo; "The Tragic Sense of Life," by Unamuno; "The Greek Commonwealth," by Zimmern; "The Everlasting Mercy," by John Masefield; "Seven Men," by Max Beerbohm; "The Forsyte Saga," by John Galsworthy; and "Joseph Vance," by William de Morgan. Arnold Bennett's "The Old Wives' Tale" is mentioned only once —think of it! Only two of the ten judges name H. G. Wells. Prof. Erskine picks "The Outline of History," and Mr. Egan "Marriage" and "Tono Bungay." Bernard Shaw, so far as these lists are concerned, is not mentioned at all—*think of it!* On the other hand are selections, like Cabell's "Jurgen" and Hergesheimer's "San Cristobal de la Habana," which seem to us so grotesque as to be ridiculous. What sticks out in these lists is that human judgment, even when trained, is fallible. Or shall we rather put it this way—that nobody really knows, or is competent to judge, what are the ten best books in our age—time alone can tell! What each judge has done, after all, is to name not the best or greatest books, but the books which he likes best, or remembers most. From this standpoint the lists are interesting—and valuable, but have no authority.

It is because we have found Christian missionaries on the whole lacking in understanding of and sympathy with Mahatma Gandhi, that we note with emphatic gratification the recent action taken by the All-India Christian Conference at its meeting at Lucknow. According to reports it adopted the following noble resolution:

> That while not agreeing with the views of Mr. Gandhi in their entirety, yet, considering the saintliness of his life, the eminence and sincerity of his leadership, and bitterness created in the country over his retention, the Conference urges upon the Government the desirability of his release.

The genuinely Christian character of this resolution is obvious; the members of this Conference rose to the rigorous standard of goodwill imposed by the religion which they profess. Not so obvious, perhaps, and yet equally impressive, is the statesmanship of this suggestion. As is so frequently the case, men who make no pretense to being practical statesmen or to knowing the ins and outs of governmental administration, define policies which put to shame the boasted wisdom of so-called men of affairs. It is just because these Christian delegates were unfamiliar with the inane traditions and precedents of government, and were thinking primarily of "whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report," that they escaped the pitfalls of folly into which politicians persistently tumble. For we are persuaded that, in the long run and all things considered, the right thing is the only expedient thing. It is love, and love alone, that "never faileth." The imprisonment of the great Gandhi by the British government in India is cruel. It is also mad. It has eased the inconvenience and embarrassment of a contemporary situation, itself created by the blind tyranny of alien officialdom, only to prepare, as from the hidden forces of nature, that vast and final upheaval of revolt which must end English rule forever.

If we had ever had any doubts as to the fitness of the Filipinos for self-government, these doubts would have been removed for good and all by the recent action of a conference of native students, gathered from all parts of the Islands, on the religious question. This conference, according to the reports which have reached us, declared for the organization of a single church, to be known as the United Filipino Christian Church. The members declared their conviction that "denominationalism is a curse," and that there is no reason why differences obtaining in the United States should obtain also in the Philippines. Not merely Protestants but Catholics, we are told, joined in this affirmation that Christianity is one, and should therefore suffer no division. Here is a repetition of what has already taken place in China, where native Christian leaders have risen up against sectarianism, and even gone so far, it will be remembered, as to organize a Chinese Community Church movement. This last and inherently logical step has not yet been taken in the Philippines, so far as we can judge, but the spiritual preparation for it is apparent enough. Strange, is it not, that it is among the so-called heathen that the inconsistency of denominationalism with the Christian gospel should be discovered! And yet, not strange—for how absurd must all these theological and ecclesiastical differences which separate Baptist from Congregationalist and both from Presbyterian, appear to the outsider who comes to them afresh! It is increasingly evident that it is in the missionary field that the re-unification of Christendom is to be first accomplished. In this respect, our Filipino brethren are more civilized than we are.

We saw a newspaper interview the other day in which a returned traveler spoke, among other things, of religious conditions in Germany; the churches, he said, were empty. About two weeks ago, a young Englishman, present in this country as a representative of the Youth Movement abroad, came into our study and gave us his impression of the prosperity of American churches. "Prosperity?" we exclaimed in amazement; "do you call our churches prosperous?" "Yes," he replied; "that is, as compared with the English churches. They are all gone; nobody attends them any more." Yesterday a Polish-American visited us, and talked of conditions in Poland to-day. "Most of the Poles," he said, "are losing their religion. Fifty per cent never enter a church." Here are three entirely independent sidelights on the European situation, and all point to the same fact—that organized Christianity is falling rapidly into the final stages of decay. The retiring moderator of the Presbyterian church in this country, Dr. Calvin C. Hayes, was insistent in his address to the General Assembly on May 17th, that "the church is not dead or dying. She is the livest institution that the world knows anything about." It would be interesting to discover where the good Doctor gets his facts for an assertion of this kind; and just why it is necessary to proclaim that "the church is not dead or dying," if she is actually such a live institution. We recall that Daniel Webster said "I still live" so close to the moment when he died, that these words were the last he ever spoke! Say what we will, boast as we may, the sands of the church's life are running out. Another fifty years like the last fifty years, and the story will be "a tale that is told."

The Church of the Future

A Vision.

Sometimes in my quieter and happier moods a glimpse is given me of the Church of the Future. There it stands, four-square, in the midst of us men of earth. Its four corner-stones I see, one of solid Justice, one of solid Joy, one of solid Love, one of solid Peace. And, O, but they built firmly into the structure of that great Temple of Humanity!

I stand outside a moment. I see no sign of any sect over its wide-open portals. I look up at its spire. And it is as a great pillar of fire ascending into the heavens. The shaft of it goes up and up until at last it disappears from all human sight in a perfect blaze of justice and joy and love and peace. And, O, how it sets on fire the hearts of all men who come within the radiance of its enlightening and enkindling rays!

I go in and look to the chancel in the east. And there at last I do see a sign and symbol of this religion of the future. It appears like a great chalice of purest gold. It reaches from the lower floors of the temple straight up and through the vaulted roof,—a great communion chalice. And, as I watch, I see it overflowing with love and good will, its mystic pure wine inundating and covering the hearts of all men, even as the waters cover the sea. I look about me and, behold, a great multitude! All the peoples of the earth are gathered there, perfecting a great Federation of the Nations of the World. A Parliament of Mankind meeting at last in a Temple of God!

I wait and listen. And presently a stir in that vast congregation! I look and, behold, a Man, a great plain Man is mounting a rough-hewn pulpit in the East! He looks tired, very worn, very old. He can hardly speak above a whisper. But he seems very happy! Look! Beneath the lines of care you can see a great light. You can, if you have eyes to see. The light of undaunted youth is there, and of a great hope. It is as if he understood somehow, and knew somehow that men do revere the truth, and do seek eagerly after justice, and are ready to love one another.

And listen! His words are whispered in a still, small voice. And yet somehow they go thundering through the aisles of that great Cathedral! He is telling the nations on what grounds, on what eternal grounds alone, their precious Federation can be builded so as to endure forever,—even the grounds of justice and love laid out for it by the Ancient of Days from the foundation of the world. And whilst he speaks I see certain men getting up and quietly slipping away from that holy place. One I recognize as a slave-driver. He is going out to free all his slaves. Another is a great potentate. He is going out to stop a war. Another a politician. He is going to give back to the people the spoils of his high office. Another is an employer of little children. He is going out to put an end to this unprofitable business of his and to convert his mills into schools and play-grounds. And so they go, these ancient offenders against the Most High, not in bitterness, not in anger, not even in shame but thoughtfully and with the strength of a new purpose in their minds, the light of a new resolve in their eyes, the sense of a new love in their hearts.

And, strangest of all, there is in that vast Cathedral of the Future a great peace and quietness. Men come and go in great throngs, but silently as in a holy place. It is like the silence of eternity. Nay, it *is* the silence of eternity. For God, the Spirit of the silent stars, the Spirit of the silent centuries; God, the ancient of days, is the in-dwelling Spirit of that great Cathedral of Humanity.

Frank C. Doan.

Jottings

"She is a sane woman who understands that *there are worse things than war.*"—New York *Times* (May 15, page 18). We have heard it thus stated, at least a thousand times, that "there are worse things than war"; but we have never been able to find out what they are. Why not be specific? What are the things that are "worse than war"?

In Asia, these days, they are discussing "the white peril." It all depends on the point of view, doesn't it?

Newbold, the Communist member of the House of Commons, was suspended the other day, because he called a fellow-member a "bourgeois," which was ruled by the Chair to be "a disorderly expression." Thus does the midlle class steadily lose ground.

How frequently the judgments of history reverse the judgments of contemporaries! Note the following from the New York *Evening Post* (May 16):

> Children in Illinois were long taught that the State's great hero, after Lincoln and Grant, was Gen. John A. Logan, and that the most sinister of recent figures was Altgeld, the protector of anarchists. Illinois has just had her history rewritten with unparalleled thoroughness by an expert commission of scholars. "Black Jack" Logan emerges as a cheap wire-pulling politician, Altgeld as a true statesman whose progressive liberalism made him the best Governor since the Civil War.

Rev. Dr. Calvin C. Hays, in his speech at Indianapolis as retiring moderator of the Presbyterian General Assembly, declared that "one difficulty with our finances is that we have so much dead timber on our rolls." We commend this honest confession to our indefatigable church statisticians.

Mr. William Jennings Bryan has announced that he will spend the rest of his life fighting the doctrine of evolution. This reminds us of the story of the railroadman who said of the steer which bucked the express train, that he admired his courage but did not think much of his common sense.

Nobody ever accused Bonar Law of being a great man. But he was always honest, simple, sincere—a convinced Tory, straight-forward in speech and action, unselfish in purpose and ideal. Such men seem to be rare, and we therefore count the retirement of the late Prime Minister as a distinct loss. Less brilliancy and ambition and more *character* in our public men, would help the world immeasurably.

J. H. H.

An Observer in Berlin

Editorial Correspondence

May I confess what I did last night? I am not ashamed to confess it, Quaker-Puritan as I am, three score years old, and with a distaste for form. On the table at the head of my bed is a candle and holder. The stick was made by a Youth Handicraft Community and the candle was given me on my birthday by a mother engaged in the child feeding work.

THE CANDLE-STICKS

In front of the big candle-stick is a miniature figure (in wood) of a boy holding aloft a tiny red candle in each hand. This was given me by a "grateful" child in a home where I had been permitted to give a trifle. The little wood figure was carved by the child out of a piece of a box, in which canned milk had come from America, for the children of Germany. Before putting my head down on the pillow, where I would find it in the morning, I was instinctively led to turn off the electric light, scratch a match, and light first the mother-candle, and then the two children-candles. As the little lights flickered in the dark room, and my thoughts turned toward life, its great dark enfolding mystery, the source of life, the offspring of life, the needs, sufferings and loss of life—it seemed to me that I had entered the Presence. It did not last more than three minutes, when I blew out the lights, first the children-candles, then the mother-candle—and I felt that I had bathed in the purity and love of the eternal. I had set up my Bethel.

When it was over, I couldn't withhold a little chuckle, over how a Quaker-Puritan had been caught in the symbolism of Catholicism. It might not have happened to me, except in Germany, where the cry of the mother and children go up to the throne. I felt that if I expected to find God, I'd have to follow the light of the mothers and children. I am glad I followed the instinct and turned off the electric light, and lighted the candles in the darkness. I'll probably do it again. It is worth trying—let me say to my friends. Have an altar beside your pillow, light a candle or two that will symbolize some world need or love which is calling you. As you sink away into sleep, let it go with you. (Later I tried it again, lighting the candles from a box of matches bought of a hungry old man on the street.)

I write also of another personal incident. I got a letter Monday from my friend Judge Everett Smith, of Seattle, enclosing a personal check, on his local bank, for $5.00 payable to me. He wrote that he had been rummaging among his boyhood things (he lighted a candle to boyhood) and found a stamp album. It aroused a new interest in stamps. Would I please take the $5.00, use it as I pleased, but send him some stamps of Germany, Russia, Central Europe? What would you have done with the $5.00? This is what I did. I picked out a girl in the Child-Feeding Department, gave her $2.00, told her to buy $1.00 worth of stamps for Judge Smith, and keep the other dollar for her trouble: also to a group of three girls I made the same proposition for $2.00: and the last dollar went to a stranded mother, recommended by a social worker. If I mistake not Judge Smith will get three envelopes full of stamps—his money's worth and more, and besides get a little credit in heaven, if he needs it: while five girls will each get what amounts to more than a pair of shoes. This Judge lighted his candle and I am certain that some German angels will be hovering round his pillow. (I have spoken to my friend John P. Fletcher, Behrenstrasse 26a, Berlin, and a check of any size payable to him, on your local bank from a dollar up, will be treated in the same way, half in stamps to the donor, the other half to relief work. It is worth trying. Friend John is a British Quaker and one of the most honest men of my acquaintance.)

While I am writing in a personal vein, let me give a few illustrations of how easily misunderstandings arise, between citizens of different nations, and thus between nations—and therefore commanding patience and charity to all.

In correcting the proof for my pamphlet, "Berlin's Fight with Disease and Poverty," wishing to eliminate an unnecessary letter, I spotted it, drew a line to the margin and wrote "out." Of course, the printer, instead of putting my letter out, put my "out" in, and in the corrected proof I faced four unnecessary letters instead of one. I was momentarily ready for a battle, but quickly saw that while one versed in English would have caught my meaning, the German printer had followed the copy exactly. Another instance: In paying my bill at the close of a restaurant meal (getting and paying one's account is almost a ceremonial exercise) the waiter put all the items down, added them up, took my money, and counted out the change coming to me. Mechanically I picked up the dozen pieces of paper money and began to go over them. I noticed that the waiter grunted. I asked my friend what was the trouble. "O he has counted it all out in your presence, and it offended him to see you counting it over." There was a chance for another battle.

There is room for much dispute over cab fares. The cabmen are permitted to multiply the rate indicated on the dial by a certain number—this number changing from week to week. Passengers are apt to raise a cry, when on Monday their fare is 25 times the indicated figure, whereas on Saturday they had only

paid 12 times the figure. The cabmen are, however, generally right, as the figures are changed by a city committee. In visiting a children's home, I noticed one baby in a chair, the child of the matron, as being a picture of health. A query was raised in my mind. Fat babies do not awaken sympathy. Later I was told that this baby, nearly three years old, could not walk, and was a semi-invalid. I visited an Old Ladies' Sewing School, where ladies over fifty—some sixty of them—are gathered and taught to make stuffed monkies. I found these ladies were "ladies" in the pre-war sense and had never learned how to work, and now they were economically stranded. With my good old Jeffersonian democracy ideas I could easily have exploded over the idea of supporting a school for "ladies." But this is Europe, where there have been "ladies" for centuries —and here they are making monkies for children's gifts. I went to a meeting of the International League for Peace and Freedom: in fact was invited to go. I armed myself with an interpreter and sat in the back corner, on purpose to disturb as little as possible. I personally knew two of the leading participants, who passed me twice, without notice; and here I was combing Europe for signs of peace! As the meeting proceeded, my interpreter whispered a little intelligence in my ear, until those near us turned and gave us a hiss of silence (which Germans invariably use—sometimes thus making a bigger disturbance than the original cause)—and finally we subsided. It would be easy for one to think this was rather an unfriendly welcome, at a peace meeting, to one who had crossed deserts following the star of peace—but they acted true to their customs—why should I complain?

I have come to this conclusion as I go about the streets of Berlin. If I see things or people that I do no like or do not understand—on bus, on train, in restaurant, in postoffice, etc.—I say to myself, "Well, old fellow, this town belongs to them. If you don't like anything—why, better try to understand the why of things and persons. Anyway, this is their town—what right have you to complain? If you don't like it—why, try to understand."

At Conrad Felsings Store—Watchmaker—Unter den Linden 21, there is a clock, where the thousands of passers-by can read the time. Around the clock, in a circle, are six or seven other clocks, all going but marking different hours. When the central clock marks 2:30 p. m., it is 1:30 p. m. by the London clock; 3:30 p. m. by the Moscow clock; 8:30 a. m. by the New York clock; 5:30 a. m. by the San Francisco clock; 10:45 p. m. by the Tokyo clock. It would be easy to have war over the faces of those clocks—for all tell a different story. But they are all good clocks, and keep excellent time. Time is just the same everywhere—allowing a slight variation for Einstein's theory. But it would be foolish for the clocks to war—for they are all good clocks and tell the truth.

SYDNEY STRONG.

Away with the Treaties

The world is my country,
To do good is my religion.

To practice it would be noble, to attain it would be the attainment of the dream of millennium. We look around, we see feeble endeavors to that end with not a shadow of practical result. Old societies have revived their activities, new ones have been formed, and associated or separately they hold, one after the other, conferences in various centers of the world, striving towards such an end. Men travel for the purpose to America and from America to Europe, seeking the attainment of this ideal, as above—universal peace; but strife among nations and men continues without rest, as acute and as disastrous as ever. Some go straight to the point, and pass definite resolutions aiming at a rapid solution of the complicated, intolerable situation in the relations of nations; others propose plans for the moral education of the world, that it may, at last, reach the goal—universal peace. One of the methods is perhaps too drastic, anyway it has failed to influence the policies of governments in their struggles one against the other, all dead upon the pursuit of selfish ends, to secure dishonorable war booty. May we not term as such acquirements by war obtained in disregard of the humane and honorable proclamations before and while carrying on the war, as also at the conclusion of the war?

There is not a man living capable of claiming the world for his country. In theory there are such, in practice none. Many men, and they are to be met in all parts of the world and among all peoples, do believe and practice a religion—to do good, such however are unobtrusive, non-combatants in the struggle going on, they do not assert themselves, if they did they would fail in the practice of their religion. Such men live contentedly and die not always in peace, because sometimes they are overwhelmed by circumstances over which they have no control, and the world marches on, its progress unchanged. Man has lived thousands upon thousands of years ever struggling in constant competition with man to attain at the expense of his neighbor. Does not the profit of one imply the loss, sooner or later, to another? So it has been in life so far.

Past sorrow or evil is absorbed, even forgotten; promised joy or hope in the future is banished in the present sufferings. A remedy for our present sufferings is our first need, this obtained will give us time and leisure to remember the past or think of the future. A remedy for present sufferings will contribute vastly to the solution of the problem of the future, and it is to that end that so many well intentioned men are today working, some separately, many joined in societies, meeting in conferences in the hope of influencing the average mind of man, that it may react against conditions established during thousands of years, to make him see and understand at last, that the world should belong to all men equally, that he should look upon it as his country, the common country of man, and live up to that belief and a religion—to do good.

To approach such an ideal the present ruinous destructive conditions existing among men and peoples, must be removed and a settlement obtained, which must conduce to the avoidance in the future of the causes which brought them about, to the removal of the conditions which created them.

What are the causes of the present acute sufferings of man? Insatiable progress hand in hand with rivalship between men and nations for personal profit,

because of the unsettled political conditions in many parts of the world, due to past wrong committed by one against the other on the world-wide principle—might is right. Can these be removed, can the unsettled political conditions between peoples be abolished, and what are they?

The Paris Peace Treaties stand out foremost and glaring before the eyes of all men. There is not a conscientious man who does not condemn them. Some refuse to reject them because they fear worse without them. If there was, they say, cause for revenge before there would be much more such should they be abrogated. It need not be so. Such causes would have no *raison d'être* if a settlement were arrived at by which every people obtained its natural rights, if free self-determination were accepted as the basis of relations between peoples. Such a basis accepted, it would not be difficult to establish a central working authority to arbitrate upon differences which may arise. Nations thus brought together, recognizing each other's natural rights, must eventually bring men of all peoples to understand that respect of mutual rights, on the basis of equal justice for all, can alone put an end to the present ruinous, destructive policy. But man, it will be said, is a destructive as well as a constructive animal. The world is physically perfect; not so man, but he is bound to try what is nearest to perfection, what has not been tried in this world since the advent of man—equal justice for all, in this case self-determination for all peoples. This has been tried in a few insignificant instances with the best results, why not extend the trial, wherever required, demanded, prayed for for the benefit of humanity and in accord with justice, so much talked of, yet so much derided! If the trial is good and justice attained in one part of the world, it should be good and justice result everywhere else.

The application of this principle is alone capable of giving a practical meaning to your ideal:

> The world is my country,
> To do good is my religion.

The only possible approach to the attainment of this ideal lies, as things stand, in the first place in the abrogation of the Paris Peace Treaties. They are the present insistent evil, they block the way to any good understanding, there is everything destructive and nothing constructive in them.

> The world is my country,
> To do good is my religion

is impossible to think of with these treaties in force.

P. M. MATTHÉEFF.

Sofia, Bulgaria, 30 *March,* 1923.

The Outlawry of War

A Questionnaire and Answers

I. What is meant by the phrase "Outlawry of War"?

A general treaty abolishing the institution of war for the settlement of international controversies; creating a real code of international law based upon equality and justice and eliminating the many present abominable laws of war, the code primarily providing that war between nations shall be illegal and criminal; and setting up a real and independent court with inherent power to hear and decide the merits of all international disputes as defined by the code. It is a topsy-turvy world in which wars of liberation like our own Revolutionary War, are illegal and criminal, to-wit, high treason, whereas wars of aggression and conquest are perfectly lawful. Indeed, the legality of international war is the fatal defect in the fabric of our civilization.

II. Is there any analogy in past history or in present day institutions?

The debates in our Constitutional Convention of 1787; the contentions there of Hamilton, Madison and Ellsworth, and the successful establishment of the first real international tribunal, our Federal Supreme Court, to which the "jarring, jealous and perverse" sovereign states finally assented, clothing it with original and exclusive jurisdiction over their future disputes. War and diplomacy were thus abolished from the relations of the states and for 135 years all their disputes have been judicially and peacefully adjusted. Our Supreme Court is an existing and effective exemplar for a true World Court.

III. Is it an alternative to the League of Nations and to the Court of Justice?

It is such alternative; that is to say, it provides direct and effective methods for the elimination of war and for putting war under the absolute ban of law. It carries out to the fullest extent the preamble of the League of Nations which is beautiful in sentiment, but is legally no part of the League. As somebody in New York recently said: "Outlawry of War would make a perfect League of Nations." However, it confines itself to the riddance of war and to the judicial and pacific handling of all international law suits. It seeks to abolish the worst form of violence, still obtaining in civilization, for the adjustment of human disputes. If the League of Nations is also to be retained, it could be used independently as a conference room or meeting-place of the nations, for consideration of matters of world interest, both general and special. But Articles 10, 15, 16 and 17 should be altogether eliminated and Articles 12, 13 and 14 thoroughly revised. The court must be independent of the League and of all other influences in order to gain and to retain the respect and confidence of all peoples. This could be done in any of three ways: By utilizing the old Hague Tribunal and making it conform in machinery and jurisdiction to the above requirements; by divorcing the present League Court from both the Treaty and the League and by clothing it with suitable jurisdiction and a code of laws against war; or by an independent court to be established at a new convention of nations.

IV. Is the present plan for American participation in the international court helpful to the scheme of Outlawing War? If not, how should President Harding's plan be modified?

This is substantially covered in the answer to No. III. It would be hurtful to the scheme of outlawing war, in our opinion, if America entered the League Court as now constituted. It would be adopting a weak, half-way measure and would lull the people into a false sense of security against war, with the institution of war still lawful and authoritative. This is an evasive compromise of

a vital question. It is our duty to solve the war problem now and not transmit it to posterity. The "step at a time" program against war urged by so many people, does not appeal to us. It belongs to the category of "snail's pace" arguments punctured by Jeremy Bentham as one of the greatest political fallacies.

V. Would an international agreement to outlaw war infringe upon the sovereignty of a signatory state?

Not any more than the making of a treaty or any compact between nations. Outlawry of War confines itself to an arrangement among the nations for handling and settling peaceably the inevitable disputes that will arise. Some provision must be made for their adjustment and our plan provides for the benign exercise of sovereignty for the common interest and benefit of the nations. Each nation attends to its own law suits and not to the law suits of other nations. The program is not based upon force; there is no coercion or compulsion about it; therefore, no impairment of sovereignty.

VI. How would the decrees of the court be enforced?

The enforcement of the court's decrees would rely upon:

(a) The solemn agreement of the nations not only to give the court affirmative jurisdiction to hear the disputes, but also in good faith to abide by and carry out its decisions.

(b) The enlightened opinion of the world functioning through the open hearings of the court where all nations must put their grievances and their answers in writing; and

(c) The right of defense shall be preserved.

The wisdom of the codifiers may develop some concrete additional methods out of the many that have been and will be proposed not inconsistent with the basic principles of Outlawry.

VII. Would an international Police Force be necessary?

It would not be necessary at all. Indeed, it would create a super-state, which is one of the perils of an international scheme that must, above all things, be avoided. It would be the renewal of the infamous doctrine of force which has been the curse of the world.

VIII. Are there any evidences that the plan to outlaw war would be accepted in other countries? Is there any way of testing public opinion in these countries?

We have had significant responses from England. In fact, we have been advised that the English people would agree to Outlawry of War fully as quickly as the American people. The latter we have tested in 30 states with uniform results of enthusiastic approval. We have had favorable indications from several countries of both hemispheres. However, we thought it best to organize the forces of this country solidly behind the movement before spending much time and money abroad. But we are rapidly getting ready for the world-wide campaign.

IX. What are the practical steps necessary in order to make the Outlawry of War effective?

This is practically covered in the foregoing answers. If you refer to the *modus operandi,* that is important, but can be one of several ways. Ultimately, a codification convention should be held where experts from all civilized nations should constitute the membership, and the creation and codification of international law could be worked out in harmony with the fundamental principles of outlawing war. As we have indicated above, this could be done through a third Hague Conference; through the re-writing of the League of Nations or through an independent conference.

X. Is the re-codification of international law necessary?

The word, re-codification, is slightly erroneous. International law has never been codified and therefore it cannot technically be re-codified. What is needed is the creation and codification of real international law based upon equality and justice between the nations. This will require the elimination of the vicious doctrines now well recognized in international law, such as military necessity, reprisal and retaliation, balances of power, spheres of influence, protectorates, rights of hinterland, suzerainties, regional understandings and a host of other deceptive words and phrases. Affirmatively, it would require the making of international war a crime; the abolition of the institution of war for the settlement of disputes, etc.

XI. Would the difficulty which now confronts the individual conscience, namely, its condemnation of murder and violence in peace time, and its patriotic obligation to countries that take part in both violence and murder in war time, be relieved if war were made an illegal method of settling international difficulties?

It would not only absolutely relieve this difficulty, but it would make the pacifist the upholder of the law and the militaristic person the violator of law. In short, the war system is now legal, and, therefore, pacifists urge the violation of law in war time. The whole situation would be turned around from the legal basis of war to the criminal basis of war, and the legality of peace. Education for war would become next to impossible and conscription a futile exhortation of a government to its people to violate the law. Outlawry of War would make it practically impossible for war to ever get started as an aggressive or deliberate movement. In our judgment the only safe road to pacifism is through law.

S. O. LEVINSON.

LOVE OF TRUTH

My theme of themes is love of truth
  And life too short to learn it;
So goes the world in restless rout
  That people mostly spurn it.

Truth is a tangle of conceits
  To minds with falseness tainted:
As 'twere a picture madly made
  By drunken artist painted;

Or else, alive with all of life,
  A glory God-created,
To him whose soul with Heaven's soul
  In holy love is mated.

VICTOR E. SOUTHWORTH.

The New Evangelism

PART I

It is not to be expected that the New Evangelism which I am about to set forth will appeal offhand to those who know only the old evangelism. Some know the old to love and approve it, and to desire more of it in our day. And to some the old evangelism is so little worth while that they have no use even for the word. Why tie up to an obsolete term the ministry of our day, which must be educational if it is to be applicable to the problems of our times?

I am not indifferent to the difficulties involved in the use of the word evangelism, especially as I am conscious of the fact that what I am about to present will seem to the lovers of the old evangelism an utterly irreligious thing. But it is an evangelism which I have in mind, and not just an intellectualism. If it seems at first thought leagues away from religion it will be found on more careful consideration to be no less distant from what is commonly called education. I have altogether misconceived my message and misunderstood the passion of moral and emotional experience out of which it has come to me during the quarter of a century in which I have been feeling my way toward it if the thing I have learned is not an evangelism, a crusade of the inner life. It has done for me what neither church nor school could do before, and I hold no conviction to-day with greater interest and intensity than the persuasion that in this which I call the New Evangelism there is the supreme message of our time, and of all time, both to the so-called religious and the so-called educational world. That the message will be rejected by both just now no more concerns me than did the fact that Paul's gospel was "unto the Jews a stumbling-block and unto the Greeks foolishness" concern him to the point of checking his enthusiasm for it. The fact that neither Jew nor Greek could be expected to understand or approve his gospel in large numbers made only more imperative for himself the "woe is me if I preach it not."

A gospel I know it to be whether it seems so or not, *the* gospel, if I may speak with that Pauline assurance which used to somewhat repel me in my reading of the great propagandist. Paul is to me one of the most pathetic figures of history, so mistakenly is he admired and exploited by those with whom he is fundamentally at variance, and so is he disparaged or ignored because of his rabbinical mannerisms of thought and expression by those who ought to know him as one of the world's mightiest libertarians. But this is the fate of the man who pioneers in the pathway of the real apostolical succession, the historical continuity of the truth itself. Let those who cannot read this parable at sight ponder it awhile.

I found my gospel, as Paul found his, where I least expected it, and where I had no desire to find it. For me, as for him, it was a feared and hated thing through which there came to me a new understanding of how God actually comes into the world. I had grown up a Pharisee of the Pharisees, orthodox to a word. Afterwards, unlike him, I had been Sadducee as well as Pharisee, that is I had learned "liberalism." Not easily did this experience come to me. My contact with New England Unitarianism had chilled me, and I thought for years that if I must choose between the warm proselytism of the evangelical churches, with all their doctrinal anachronisms, and this alabaster intellectualism of New England "liberal thought" I would follow my heart awhile longer and let definitions of dogma go hang. So I did, through a missionary adventure of no great length in old Mexico, and through three pastorates on the Pacific Coast wherein I had much happiness and much success in an evangelistic way.

It was the very success of this evangelism which brought me to a halt. We got the numbers, but we got little else. Those whom I baptized by the score were temporarily a little wetter by reason of passing through my baptizing hands, and shared something of the emotional "kick" with which I entered into the business of getting them "right with God," and incidentally into membership in our church and denomination, and generally speaking they "kept the faith" so far as concerns the three things which make up the program of church salvation, that is, acquiescence in certain theological dogmas, the acceptance of certain ecclesiastical relations, and the observance of certain respectable moral proprieties. But otherwise they were not to be distinguished from other people outside the churches, and on the side even of the moral proprieties they sometimes fell short in the comparison. While my church officials were worrying lest some of our young people wander afar by reason of occasional attendance upon the theatre or the dance I found these same officials as much absorbed as the Publicans themselves in "getting on in the world," chasing the Almighty Dollar, and willingly, stubbornly oblivious of the dependence of their money making upon social practices and institutions which were obviously of the devil. I had won evangelical success, and my evangel had worked no revolution of any real significance in the men and women who had answered to it. Nor had it worked any profound moral satisfaction in myself. I had plenty, prestige, and prospects, but I had no sense of a vital comradeship with Him who said, "If any man will come after me let him deny himself, and take up his cross and follow me."

Then it was that I became a Sadducee, and found Sadduceeism as empty as ever Phariseeism had been. I plunged into the Higher Criticism, and got enough of a come-back of misunderstanding and misrepresentation from those who felt themselves the guardians of the Bible in trying to tell the truth about the Bible so that I sensed a little at least what the cross might mean. Through this field of husks I made my way to contact with more than a negative liberalism, Christian Science, New Thought, Theosophy, Psychology. Not that I accepted any of these outright, or did any joining with this or that organization. I was inquisitive enough on the side of my intellectual searchings after truth, but I was conservative in my emotional attachments. Wherefore I stayed in the church of my fathers, as in a way I have until this day. But I became in my heart a sectless follower after truth, gathering sweets of love and wisdom from all the world's domain. But I found that my soul was not a bee, and that I could not live on an exclusive diet of sweets. The thing cloyed me worse than orthodoxy had done. My comrades of the freer faiths were nice people, nicer in many ways than I had found in the fellowship of the cruder creeds of

the evangelical churches. They were too nice, too merely nice, perhaps I should say. They also chased the Dollar, and shut their eyes resolutely to the directions from which it came. Smug, self-complacent, impervious to social understanding, filling their mouths with the society cakes and confections of unsubstantial ideologies I found in them no "power of the resurrection" because they knew nothing of the "fellowship of suffering." I confess that to-day I find a profounder religiousness in orthodoxy than I do in a lot of this lace and chiffon, piano and parlor type of religionized self-complacency.

And then I met the materialists. I had known of them, and decried them for years. When I met them face to face, and was compelled to admit things about them I had never dreamed could be so, I still held them to certain separate compartments of my thought. They were right, on their own field, but it was not the field of religion. I could not deny that they were propagandists, even to the point of a martyrdom strangely foreign to the churches, conservative or liberal, "old fogy" or "advanced," as I discovered in the crisis of the Great War. Even in ordinary times I found in them a self-denial with respect to the much-vaunted "success" of our times in sharp enough contrast with the prosperity of the pious and the progressive. Also I found in them a passionate sympathy for the disinherited and the dispossessed, and a comradeship with the common man such as I had found nowhere among the orthodox and the nice. But I was slow, very slow, to see that unwittingly they had found the New Evangelism, and were living it whether they could interpret it or not. But so it is. And this is the thing which I am going to try to tell you; how through "the materialistic conception of history" I have found God; how through the study of "surplus value" I have come to a doctrine of sin mightier than ever the old evangelism knew; how through the "class struggle" I have found the age-long way of the world's redemption. It has cost me twenty-five years of more than mental searching to understand it. Be patient with me if on the printed page, and within a few thousand words I can do nothing more than suggest it to you. Fortunately it does not depend for its reality upon my explaining it, or upon your understanding it. The thing itself is real, it belongs to the centuries, older by far than any and all of our theologies, and so young as to the interpretation of it that another generation, or maybe many generations, will pass away before the world at large will understand the revolutionary quality and the fundamental religiousness of it. But I am sure that even now the world is ready for a beginning in the statement of the New Evangelism.

(*To be continued next week.*)

Seattle, Washington. ROBERT WHITAKER.

A Negro Gets a Square Deal

At a time when race prejudice is running rampant all over the land it is a matter of joy and satisfaction to run across a case where a colored man is given the full protection of the law and also where the fact of his color is not permitted to be the basis for introducing material that would prejudice him with the jury.

Something more than two years ago Archie Burris was arrested in Ottumwa, Iowa, for the murder of a colored woman. He was tried and convicted. There seemed to be no doubt whatever of his guilt. His case was appealed to the Supreme Court of the state.

At the trial the defendant went on the witness stand. In his cross-examination the prosecuting attorney asked him, "At the time you worked for J. B. Sax, did you take some white girls out riding in J. B. Sax's car?" The question was objected to and the objection over-ruled. Then followed a series of questions all to the same point. Objections were raised to all these questions and were over-ruled by the trial judge. Similar questions were asked of character witnesses who went on the stand in behalf of the defendant.

The case was appealed on three grounds. Two of these are not material to this story. It is the third that is; this has to do with the question of race prejudice. The opinion in the case was written by Justice F. F. Faville. In the course of it, he said:

> It is not within the province of the prosecutor, under the pretense of affecting the credibility of the witness, to propound interrogatories without any pretense or attempt to establish the truthfulness of any such inquiry and solely to cast insinuations upon the defendant. To open the doors to the cross-examination of the defendant would leave him subject to insinuation and suggestion of gross misconduct, without any semblance of basis to support the same and with limitations fixed only by the extent of the imagination of the interrogator and his audacity in propounding the inquiries. It is no answer to say that the appellant was not prejudiced by this cross-examination because he answered the questions in the negative, and no attempt was made by the state to prove the truthfulness of the matters suggested in the inquiry. . . . We think that it was an abuse of the discretion lodged in the trial court to permit this examination to have been conducted to the extent that it was, and that it was prejudicial to the appellant. It was an attempt on the part of the state to drag into the case, by insinuation and suggestion, matters that were collateral and irrelevant, for the obvious purpose of prejudicing the appellant in the eyes of the jury. Such methods to secure the conviction of one charged with crime do not comport with the spirit of fairness which has always been one of the most cherished tenets of our administration of criminal law.

The opinion expressed similar criticism of the same kind of questions put to other witnesses. It further stated that "it is not proof that a man is not peaceable and quiet, and that he is disposed to take human life, because he may have been guilty of 'joy-riding' under circumstances that do not reflect credit upon either his discretion or his morals."

Thus solely upon the ground of the character of the questions asked a colored man upon the witness stand, the court reversed the decision of the lower court. The appeal to the prejudices of the jury by means of insinuating questions received what to our minds is a severe and just rebuke. Archie Burris was in all probability guilty of a serious crime. He has been found guilty in a second trial in which no doubt the objectionable questions were not put to the witness. But UNITY'S concern is not with the guilt or innocence of this man. We rejoice that in the case of an unknown colored man the Supreme Court of Iowa has set forth clearly and unmistakably the fundamental principle that prejudice has no place in a court of law.

A. L. WEATHERLY.

THE STUDY TABLE

Nitti's "The Decadence of Europe"

Signor Nitti is a moderate in his outlook, not an extremist. He is fair-minded and clear-headed. He worked conscientiously during his premiership toward a policy of reconciliation. If he seems at times extreme to us, it is without doubt because we are—shall I say "reactionary," or be as brutal as our critics and say "unintelligent"?

Perhaps we need to face the fact that while we have been "Minding our own business" the rest of the world has forged ahead of us in the perception of spiritual values and we have been left with the just reputation of being backward.

Signor Nitti only speaks the obvious when he says, "As public opinion in America is not sufficiently enlightened on European affairs, none of the great political parties which are now contending with each other dares to show any interest in the solution of the problem," confronting Europe. And nowhere in these chapters is his interpretation of America other than generous—indeed one can hardly help reading between lines that he finds it difficult to interpret less generously than he does that country of which Woodrow Wilson was once believed to be the exponent.

The most scathing criticism offered falls upon the Reparations Commission in its existing personnel. He says:

> It now consists of men of extreme mediocrity, . . . minor politicians of no standing, diplomats ignorant of everything, and magistrates with little knowledge of the laws of their own countries. . . . The majority of the Reparations Commission had never seen Germany, knew nothing about any industry, and had no experience whatever of economic facts.

Of the smaller commissions which flooded the country he asserts that they were filled with a spirit of greed and violence like a band of mercenaries, and he prophesies that the day will come when it will be considered a disgrace to have belonged to those commissions.

With a keen sympathy for France in her difficulties he still has the vision to point out the tragedy of the future she is preparing for herself.

> France has not yet serenity of judgment. . . . We want her to return to those ideals which were not only her greatness but her salvation. . . . France . . . with a population which does not increase but even tends to diminish, has more men under arms than Germany had before the war. The Germans have twice won great wars with France—1815 and 1870. They never tried to destroy the national unity of France, or to kill her economically. The acts of France since 1919 do not correspond to her traditions and her representatives have only isolated the noble country which we have loved.

Concerning the prospects of a real peace, he says,

> Europe . . . cannot have peace unless she destroys this mechanism of violence which has been created by ill-feeling and expanded by ignorance. One problem dominates the life of the world—*Peace*. Since the peace of violence has not brought about a condition of vitality, the peace of justice must be found and the solidarity which has been violated must be restored. . . . The resettlement of Europe will never take place except by abandoning armies of occupation, re-establishing the sovereignty of every State, and abandoning absurd indemnities, which do harm not only to the morality but to the intelligence of the victors.

He declares that since the war it is Great Britain which has made the greatest efforts in the direction of peace and warns France that sooner or later it will be her greatest glory to follow along the same path, but adds,

> It is the powerful voice of the United States alone that will be able to bring the real peace, . . . when its public opinion is sufficiently enlightened it will not for long be able to remain indifferent to the condition of Europe.

In regard to exacting the payment of war debts Signor Nitti defends the attitude of the United States as follows:

> If France maintains the largest army in the world and develops aeroplanes, submarines, poison-gas, etc. . . . to an alarming degree, why is she not to pay her debts to America? Why should America contribute to the policy of death which is now destroying the life of civilization throughout Europe?

Nowhere does he betray the thought that the United States may be actuated by selfish motives in these exactions—he says:

> In the first place, while the victorious countries of Europe talked about cancellation of debts on the part of America, they, especially France, assumed an attitude of the bitterest violence against Germany, from whom they demanded the last drop of blood the treaty allowed them to take, and even that which it did not allow. . . .
>
> If America were to renounce all compensations while the other countries renounced nothing, she would not be able to cancel her credits without producing an absurd situation . . . that is to say, the United States would have to pay for everything. . . . The greatest argument against cancellation, however—and one which America does not confess—is that the United States, although they know that they must renounce their credits at some future date, do not want to do so now. They know that they possess a weapon which can affect the fortunes of Europe and bring about a real peace and general economic reconstruction. . . . Yet in her own interests, America must not act too slowly unless she wants to see the complete ruin of Germany and the complete collapse of the economy of Europe.

The provocative character of the French occupation of the Rhineland is as one might expect severely criticized by Signor Nitti, particularly such acts as compelling the municipalities to maintain brothels and supply them with white women for the use of troops both black and white. The incredible extravagance, waste and extortion on the part of the invaders is also made the subject of severe condemnation as is the altogether stupid attitude toward Russia of her former allies—

> Conquerors who during the war drove her to the greatest sacrifices, but, when she was crushed by force, took advantage of her fall, the fall of a friendly people, to attempt to restore the most brutal absolutism by reactionary armies, and then attempted to impose a system of capitulations, in order to obtain the monopoly of her raw materials and hidden resources.

And concerning future relations with Russia he says:

> How can Russia have even a vestige of trustfulness after what has happened to Germany?
>
> Germany laid down her arms at a time when the solemn pledges of the Entente and the solemn declarations of Wilson promised a just peace and equal treatment for victors and vanquished: afterwards Germany was dismembered and tortured as no other country in modern history. . . . The treaties have been the negation of the promises . . . and the application of the treaties has been a continuous violation of the treaties themselves.

There is apprehension and grave foreboding in these intense chapters which carry a challenge to the spirit of chivalry in America. Although she is his last hope, Signor Nitti admits that "The United States have not up to the present shown any settled opinion on these grave problems which concern the life of the whole world."

FLORA J. WHITE.

CORRESPONDENCE

Senator Borah and Doctor Olin Templin of Lawrence University Exchange Notes on Outlawry of War

University of Kansas,
Lawrence, Kansas.

Hon. Wm. E. Borah,
My dear Senator:

I am writing to tell you how I am pleased with your proposal to outlaw war. It seems to me that you have submitted the most impressive program that has been thought of for twenty centuries. I am with you with all my soul and wish that I might give you some practical assistance.

This is the way it appears to me. The evils of society are at first suspected and then denounced; then modest attempts are made to restrict them and reduce their offensiveness. These regulative measures are gradually increased in severity but without fail. At last, after long periods of unsuccessful attempts to make such evils endurable, society gains sufficient courage to attack them and destroy them.

Thus it was with slavery, the liquor traffic went the same way. And so it will be with war. All who are really interested in civilization agree, and have long agreed, that war is the most stupendous wrong that the human race has devised, and yet they continue to approve and employ it. They do this all the while hoping that in some way it can be made righteous and humane by reservations and limitations. But this can not be done. The world ought now to have learned that the one thing that can be done to war to improve it is to destroy it. And you are right; the only way to do that is to outlaw it.

I believe, too, the world is about ready to accept such a sublime program. So here is to your courage and strength. *Is there anything I can do to help?* I am willing to give what there is left of life to this cause. Do you think organization, agitation, education, or what not, would be useful? If so, just where, in your opinion, can I be most useful?

I shall be happy to know what you think.

Faithfully yours,
OLIN TEMPLIN.

Lawrence, Kansas, May 3, 1923.

May 5, 1923.

Dr. Olin Templin,
Lawrence, Kansas.
My dear Friend:

I cannot tell you what an inspiration your letter was to me this morning, and an inspiration which will not die away soon. I thank you from the bottom of my heart.

As I view it now the ground work for this whole vast structure is organization and the building up of public opinion. Organization, agitation and education, as you say,—these are the things now. In my opinion, we can create such a body of public opinion, not only in this country but throughout the leading countries of the world, as to make the cause successful. I have had letters from countries abroad, from seven or eight members of the English Parliament, and hundreds of letters from people in our own country. It is laying the ax at the root of the tree. We can never make progress, in my opinion, until war is looked upon as a crime, until the man, or men, who foster and foment war are looked upon as the violators of law and who have against them from the beginning the record judgment of mankind.

Now, I do not know just what you are prepared to do or what your time will admit of, but I am happy to know that you are ready and willing. I would be glad if you could find time to start a powerful organization in your State.

I am taking the liberty of sending your letter to the Committee on the Outlawry of War in Chicago.

Thanking you again, I am

Sincerely,
(sd) WM. E. BORAH.

May 7, 1923.

Dr. Olin Templin,
Lawrence, Kansas.
My dear Friend:

In thinking over your letter, I wondered if it would appeal to you to write a communication to the Topeka *Capital,* and such other papers in the State as you might think well to address, upon the subject of the resolution to outlaw war, stating your views fully upon the matter and urging active organization and support. I am sure the Topeka *Capital* will be glad to print it, as Senator Capper has given his endorsement of the resolution. Indeed, I am sure any of the papers would print an article from you.

I would like to see a strong, powerful organization built up in Kansas and the center of the Continent. It occurred to me that this might be a good way to start it,—this article from you.

Very respectfully,
(sd) WM. E. BORAH.

Lawrence, Kansas, May 9, 1923.

Senator W. E. Borah,
Washington, D. C.
My dear Friend:

I thank you for your two letters, the latter just received.

The truth is that I was just on the point of doing just what you suggested, that is open up in some of the newspapers. And I shall go ahead with that program in the near future. I should like to have a copy of your resolution and any other printed material you may have for distribution that will help to state the case and argument.

Upon the receipt of your remark about an organization in Chicago I wrote up there to find out what it was, what it was doing, and the methods it was employing. I have not heard from "The Committee on the Outlawry of War" yet but probably will soon. I only fear that my letter might not have been delivered with such an inadequate address.

If there is prospect of an effective organization and movement I should be glad to give it all my time if I could afford it. I am trying to get what little property I have into such shape that I can be sure of a simple living and if I succeed in that I am willing to retire from my position in the University and enlist for the war—no time limit. You may recall that I had some experience in this sort of thing as Director of School and College Activities of the U. S. Food Administration during the war. I then had charge of a nation-wide campaign which, I think Mr. Hoover will tell you, was not a failure. I made many acquaintances then whom I might enlist in this effort; in fact we might almost resurrect the old organization and utilize it if that plan seemed wise. I shall be glad for suggestions.

Faithfully yours,
(sd) OLIN TEMPLIN.

May 15, 1923.

To the Fairmont Alumnae:

I have been asked to send you a line of congratulation on your past work, possibly a word of suggestion as to the future.

I can hardly conceive of a more interesting outlook than that which now confronts the young student looking out upon life and anxious to take part. It is true the times seem full of stress and turmoil and vast and vexed problems are up for consideration. But these things serve only to bring out talent and uncover genius.

The world has lately passed through a baptism of blood and practically all the troubles now with us are the result of that war. It would seem to follow that the greatest problem in the world today is: How to put an end to war.

For centuries, war has been regarded as a legitimate method of settling or adjusting international disputes. The question which I put to you all is this: Should war any longer be protected by the shield of legality? Has not the time come when it should be outlawed? Is it not possible to write into the law of nations that war shall henceforth be regarded as a crime and those who foment it be held responsible as criminals?

This can be brought about, but it can only be brought about by the building up of public opinion—by world-wide education. In this great cause you can all have a high and honorable part. I could wish you no nobler, and in the end no happier, work than this. Let us join the crusade to outlaw war, the super-crime among men.

With best wishes to you all, I am

Very sincerely,
(sd) WM. E. BORAH.

Hopeful Action by Unitarians

Editor of UNITY:

The report in this morning's papers (May 22) from our national Unitarian meetings in Boston brings this bit of real sunshine.

The vote on resolutions submitted by mail to members of

THE FIELD

"The World is my country,
to do good is my Religion"

MR. HANKINSON IN BUDAPEST

UNITY has just received the following important announcement about its editorial representative, Fred Hankinson, who has worked for three years past in Budapest as a member of the Friends' Relief Organization:

"The Hungarian Government has presented the special medal of the Hungarian Red Cross to the Rev. Fred Hankinson in recognition of the relief work done in connection with the Society of Friends' Relief Mission and the fund raised by the American Women's Alliance and the British Women's League."

In a letter recently received from Mr. Hankinson, there appears the following interesting story as an illustration of the kind of work that he is doing:

"A Unitarian has been interned thirty-five months in an internment camp. His wife and two children aged eight and thirteen years, were obliged to go into the camp and live with him as they could not exist outside and there they received some food and a lodging. He writes to his minister for help for the two children and the note is sent on to me. Tomorrow I am forwarding to him clothing, boots, condensed milk, soap, cocoa, etc. Last year when I visited the camp I saw the family and knowing what life is under these conditions for children, I am eager to help and gladly forward the parcel. Probably a little money will be sent."

Mr. F. W. Pethick-Lawrence of England has recently visited Mr. Hankinson, and in a personal letter, dated April 3rd, he reports, in part, as follows:

"I think you will be interested to know that I have just come back from a visit to Hankinson, and have had the opportunity of seeing the work that he is doing in the Middle East.

"I saw his Sanatoria at Buda Kesi, which with the help of the Friends, he was able to get re-started and which he is now supporting by sending children who are tubercular. They are wonderfully fine buildings and from all I can see, the patients do splendidly there. In our currency the cost is extraordinarily cheap, as it is only 1400 kr. (25 cents) a day for adults, and 600 kr. (12 cents) a day for children. This includes nursing and doctoring, as well as board and lodging.

"Then I went to the students' home which was also supported by the help of the Friends, and in which Hankinson still has twenty Unitarian students. The home is mainly supported by American and English money. It seems a nice and simple place and fully worth the small amount that Hankinson has to spend on it.

"He also told me of his work in the prisons, but I had not time to see this. . . .

"I also went to Esztegom which has a State Institution for teaching boys. This also was put on its feet through Hankinson's money, but is now running for itself. Hankinson's work at the present time appears to be to deal with any signs of consumption which arrive there, by taking patients across to the Sanatoria. . . ."

J. H. H.

KINDS OF LITERATURE AND CONNECTION WANTED BY RUSSIAN DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION.

Dr. Hastings H. Hart,
Russell Sage Foundation,
New York City.

Dear Doctor Hart:

I write you because of our life-long friendship, and because I think you are in a position to render valuable assistance to Russian education.

I was in Moscow December last and made resolution to speak to you of an educational matter on my arrival in New York,—in January, as I supposed at that time. I am now writing you of this matter from Berlin, since I fear I shall not be in New York before September.

When in Moscow, I talked with Krupskaia (Madame Lenin), with Shatsky (the Dewey of Russia), and with Natalie Kirichko, who works half time in the central office of the State Council of Education, and half her time in the First Experimental Station of Education under Shatsky. She wants to get the latest things from Dewey on education, and any concrete material developed since 1915, at which time they had a good foreign library.

Books of experimental schools, industrial schools, rural schools, open air schools, agricultural schools, and out of school activities, clubs, self government of children, etc., are much wanted. Books on latest methods in children's homes also. Shatsky mentioned especially children's colonies, where they live and work, especially on an agricultural basis; he wanted reports and information about the George Junior Republic, etc. He mentioned something known as Robinson Crusoe excursions, and wanted especially any methods of developing children through self expression in contact with life.

Kirichko says that they used to have complete files of the Department of Education material from Washington, and also the Russell Sage Foundation, but have had none since 1915, and are too poor to buy it. They received recently a few Teachers College reports, but that is all the contact they have had.

Recent developments in boys' and girls' clubs (I suggest Campfire girls among others) are wanted. Kirichko used to be in touch with Dr. Leonard Ayres of the Sage Foundation, but tried to communicate during the war and failed. She has written since to Patty Hill of Teachers College.

My daughter, Anna Louise Strong, recently brought back from England a few books, that were much appreciated. Margaret McMillan's "Nursery School" is probably going to be at once translated into Russian. The Medical Reports of the Board of Education in England inter-

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the Unitarian Ministerial Union was announced today as follows:

To call on the President for unconditional amnesty to war-time prisoners, 230 to 44; for a new effort, as outlined by President Harding, to outlaw war from the earth, 226 to 5; in favor of Federal prohibition as a policy, 186 to 42; for enforcement of the Volstead act, 181 to 28; approving refusal of New England railroads to grant special rates or privileges to clergymen, 160 to 59.

J. T. SUNDERLAND.

Should the Filipino Be Given Freedom?

Editor of UNITY:

I agree with you in general most heartily. But there is one point that I must as heartily dissent from. That is, as to Filipino "Freedom," as expressed in your issue of March 8. What is so often labelled "freedom" is precisely the reverse, as in this instance. The Philippine Press Bureau is simply the instrument of an untruthful propaganda established by Filipino politicians on which a million Philippine dollars is annually squandered ostensibly for promoting independence but primarily for benefiting themselves. They are like other politicians the world over: a curse for civilization. They reflect no true public sentiment; the great mass of the population is densely ignorant; has no conception of what freedom or independence really is; the most intelligent Filipinos dread nothing more than independence, but they do not dare to oppose it, or even discuss it, for fear of what may be done to them. Harrison, the former Governor-General, is one of the worst products of Tammany. He made himself ridiculous and a laughing stock in the islands and showed himself ignorant of the first principles of competent administration. To quote him has as much value as to cite Mayor Hylan or Mayor Curley as authorities on honest government. How can a government be called "stable" that has just let its treasury be looted and has only been saved from absolute bankruptcy by the Federal government coming to the rescue with five million dollars to prevent financial wreck; and which, with all restraint removed, would straightway throw the islands into chaos: a ready prey for Japan? I cannot believe that is the sort of freedom or independence you would care to promote. The Filipinos now have more true freedom than they could ever hope for under their own *politicos*, though less than they had before the Jones bill (whose first words were a glaring untruth) made it possible for their politicians to undo the greater part of the good that had been done for the islands. I was strongly opposed to the war with Spain. But I have always held that, having once assumed responsibility for the welfare of the islands we took over from Spain it would be the most ignoble moral and political cowardice to scuttle out, recreant to our trust. I have taken the greatest pains to keep well informed as to affairs in the Philippines. It would be as cruel to set them adrift as to set a lot of children adrift in a leaky boat just because they wanted to go. The Filipinos will long be in the childhood stage so far as administrative competence goes.

SYLVESTER BAXTER.

San Juan, Porto Rico.

UNITARIAN MINISTER, NOW WITHout a charge, seeks a vacant pulpit. He is thirty-five years of age, and holds advanced theological and social views. Address, Minister, care of "Unity," 700 Oakwood Blvd., Chicago, Ill.

ested them also. Moscow alone has now 33 forest schools for pretubercular children, where they take children from the city, harden them up in a year or two, and then send them back to their ordinary schools again. They consider this work has already proved its value, though much handicapped by lack of proper food; but they want the latest ideas on all these subjects. Moscow has also a large number of experimental schools, where they are working out relations between school and factory (in winter), and school and farm (in summer). They are also working on ideas of self-supporting education,—due to the great demand for education and the little money to meet it.

Books and periodicals received by the State Council are read, and digests and articles about any new ideas printed and circulated through the teaching force in Russia, which is very scattered, poor, and poorly equipped, but very desirous of knowing the latest methods. Material should be sent to:

N. KRUPSKAIA, State Council of Education, 6, Stretinsky Boulevard, Moscow, Russia.

Cordially yours,
SYDNEY STRONG.

Berlin, April 24.

Care: The American Express Co.

Note.—If there are any persons who object to sending material to a governmental department in Russia, perhaps they might send direct to the:

FIRST EXPERIMENTAL STATION OF EDUCATION, Shatzky, 14, Mali Dimitrovska, Moscow.

This is a modern experimental school organized in 1905, somewhat along Dewey lines, and may be known in educational circles in America. Of course all these schools are working together with the State Council of Education in the joint effort to build up a new and widespread education for Russia, but there may be some people who would rather send to a name they know as the name of a long time educator.

Note.—There are publications of the Department of Education in Washington, which would also be useful, and which cost little.

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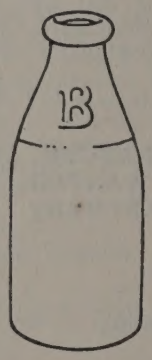

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